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Introduction

The quest for a good life: Contributions from the Arctic towards a theory of wellbeing

Florian Stammler and Reetta Toivanen

Integrating different theoretical approaches to wellbeing

Anthropological research on wellbeing as a concept has highlighted that studies claiming to be about wellbeing largely fail to identify what it actually means (Thin 2008, p. 36). Ethnographic research from around the world has since started filling this gap (Mathews and Izquierdo (eds) 2008). Jiménez (2008, p. 3) emphasizes the importance of ethnography for informing our understanding of wellbeing, especially now that the concept has gained more political attention in a globalizing world. However, so far there is a lack of research focusing on wellbeing in the Arctic, and this is where this volume seeks to close a research gap.

Ortner (2016) suggested in a seminal article on dark anthropology that in order to understand the foundations of a good life, we need to study more than the absence of harm and hardship. In this volume, we want to provide empirical evidence on how good life in the Arctic looks from the point of view of its young residents. In that vein, this introduction is an attempt to conceptualize such evidence in theoretical terms. As Robbins (2013) has shown, an anthropology of the good life provides positive definitions of the parameters 'of what is good' but without overlooking the dark side of life. This should contribute to clarifying more generally how we can better define wellbeing in the social sciences.

In this respect, the anthropology of a good life aligns with recent trends in human security studies, for which wellbeing became a concept that invited scholars to define what is called "positive security" (Hoogensen et al. 2009; Hoogensen Gjørv 2012). In that field, a good life is first and foremost associated with the absence of harm and threat. Even in critical security studies where the focus is on security *to* (to satisfy one's needs, to live one's routine) and not security *from* (from threats, violence or harm), researchers assume that a good life is one that enables people to cope with risks and danger and satisfies their needs against all odds (see overview in Hoogensen Gjørv 2012, pp. 835–843; Stammler et al. 2020). What is called positive security in human security studies (Hoogensen Gjørv 2012, pp. 835, 843–846) comes closest to what anthropologists have highlighted as relevant in the study of wellbeing (Jiménez 2008).

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Both fields (anthropology of wellbeing and positive human security studies) point to the importance of considering contexts, values, justice, equality and trust for the understanding of wellbeing and human security. At the same time, they both highlight the need to comprehend practices and processes of achieving these qualities among people. Also, both anthropologists and human security scholars highlight the difficulties of defining these positive qualities. One does not need to be a profound philosopher to realize that it is harder to define what is good without knowing what is bad, or to outline a clear research programme without the background of a gap analysis. This comprises the rather simple underpinning of the arguments by Robbins (2013) and Thin (2008) when they start outlining what studies of the good life are missing. Hoogensen Gjørv (2012, p. 843) takes an "epistemology of enabling" as a starting point to define what good may mean in her field of positive security studies: "Through positive security, people in specific contexts are recognized as potentially having some significant resources to tackle challenges and risks" (Hoogensen Gjørv 2012, p. 844). From this quote, the reader again gets the impression that the focus is on coping strategies, enabling the overcoming of problems, harm, risk and threat, and achieving freedom from these negative things through trust, justice and equality. This approach does not yet tell us what the positive parameters of wellbeing actually are, other than the capacity to overcome problems.

Equality and justice are fundamental for Jiménez (2008, p. 4) in the introduction to his volume that studies the place of wellbeing in contemporary theories of political morality. Jiménez reminds us of Sen's influential idea of wellbeing as an attempt for a more affirmative definition. It goes beyond the satisfaction of basic needs and rights to encompass substantive freedoms and basic capabilities, and incorporates both the opportunities that people have to change their lives and the processes that they undertake to harness such opportunities (Sen 1999, quoted in Jiménez 2008, p. 8). However, this still leaves us with a number of questions: What actually is it that people should have the freedom to achieve? What are the dreams that people should have the opportunity to pursue? The research in this volume shows that there is more to wellbeing than variables of the Human Development Index, which Sen helped to develop, and that especially young people in remote places such as the Arctic may not feel represented by such a broad and all-encompassing notion of wellbeing as Sen's (1999, quoted in Jiménez 2008, p. 8), which focuses on political freedom, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees and protective securities. Thin's (2008) scholarly quest that wellbeing studies should define the positive parameters of a good life thus remains largely unanswered by the earlier literature.

In their volume on youth wellbeing from the point of view of the educational sciences, Wright and McLeod (2015) observed that in the attempt to define wellbeing, international rankings usually focus on what they call "objective measures" such as GDP, expenditures for health, education and the like. On the other hand, they state that national policies see wellbeing more in terms of social and emotional dimensions, particularly psychological

notions and mental health (p. 2). The chapters in this volume do not fall so easily into the simplistic separation of "objective" and "subjective" indicators of wellbeing that Wright and McLeod (2015, p. 2) categorized. Our approach to youth wellbeing is that thick ethnographic descriptions can best show what is important for young people's good life in the Arctic, as well as what the factors are that may influence their decisions to pursue their dreams and opportunities in the Arctic or elsewhere. Wyn et al. (2015) have argued that wellbeing is often defined as an imperative by society. Hence, they argue that the parameters of wellbeing or the scales to measure it are not made by young people and are beyond their control. Through our research we have sought to correct this. We have placed the young people in the centre of our inquiries and worked together with Arctic young people in order to be able to contribute in-depth and multi-year fieldwork-based empirical evidence on how young people in the Arctic see a good life.

A significant body of literature on the concept of wellbeing comes from the area of mental health studies and psychology (Ryan and Deci 2001; Usborne and Taylor 2010), where the focus is on the individual rather than the group as determining people's sense of a good life. Since the present volume places the focus more on groups than individuals, we do not attempt to exhaustively engage this literature. Nonetheless, it is important to link it to our discussion, because psychological aspects figure prominently in the literature on Arctic wellbeing, which is strongly oriented towards Indigenous mental health and psychological aspects (Kral et al. 2011; Rasmus et al. 2014; Ulturgasheva et al. 2014; Ulturgasheva et al. 2014; Petrasek et al. 2015; Hatala et al. 2017; see also Gartler et al., this volume).

In psychology, there is a strand of research called "wellbeing science" (Oades et al. 2021). While Oades et al. claim that their approach is highly interdisciplinary, they place crucial importance on the individual alone. They write: "Wellbeing is highly individual and the freedom and choice to decide what wellbeing means to them, is essential to wellbeing itself" (Oades et al. 2021, pp. 719–720). They further develop Sen's (1999, cited in Jiménez 2008) idea of capability and subjective freedom, emphasizing that the individual's capacity to choose their own parameters of wellbeing is crucial. For the authors, there are critical universal building blocks for the capability to thrive, based on what a person needs to be free *from* and free *to do* for a lived experience of wellbeing. Accordingly, individual wellbeing is based on freedom *from* poverty and instability, disease, alienation and isolation, violence and corruption, and freedom *to* choose one's own life trajectory. According to Oades, that freedom *to* is less universal than the freedom *from*, which is why we can uncover the diversity of that freedom *to*, the positive definition of wellbeing best understood by analysing different narratives and what he calls "differentiated life-stories" (Oades 2018, see video at 36:58). Building on these ideas, our contribution in this volume is an in-depth study of some of the factors that influence such life trajectories, not only on the individual level but also on the group level, necessitated by structural factors such as age (hence our focus on youth) and regional specifics (here the Arctic). This is

especially relevant, as neither anthropology nor geography inform Oades' interdisciplinary approach to wellbeing, which he calls thriveability theory (Oades 2018, see video at 11:30; Oades et al. 2021).

Wellbeing as an applied category for measuring quality of life

Different from the theoretical political, philosophical and psychological literature discussed above, a sizeable part of wellbeing studies is applied and appears as white papers or reports targeted at policymakers. For the Arctic, such studies include, for example, Lundgren and Cuadrado (2020) on skills in the North. Different from the fieldwork-based guide recently published by some of the authors of this volume (Adams et al. 2020), Lundgren and Cuadrado (2020) take well-known wellbeing indices as their point of departure and analyse the good life in the European North using statistics of life expectancy and socio-economic factors, of which they single out education, gender equality and mental health. They also cite a high level of social trust as characteristic of a specifically northern European parameter of wellbeing, which echoes Hoogensen Gjørv's (2012) emphasis on trust for positive human security. Quite differently, the study by Ingemann and Larsen (2018) has a strong focus on what we could call "deficit analysis", analysing the literature to establish where and why the Arctic region loses out in comparison to other places in terms of conditions for providing a good life for young people. Hence, in such reports the concept of wellbeing serves to inform policies and correct deficits. We start from the other side: our research has demonstrated that young people in the circumpolar North do not necessarily see themselves as deficient, underprivileged, marginalized or disempowered. Rather, there are positive conditions and parameters for their wellbeing that they find in their northern home places.

The chapters in this book show what these conditions and parameters for wellbeing are and how they are vary between various regions in the Arctic. We take wellbeing as an analytical category down to the level of the everyday life of young people in remote places, and investigate how they imagine a good life and what their place of living could offer to them to facilitate achieving their dreams. The wellbeing of some may be influenced by seemingly trivial things, such as having more shopping malls in one's vicinity, or places to hang out with friends in a relaxed and safe atmosphere, or access to a beautiful and clean natural environment, which for some serves as inspiration and recreation in their daily life. Allemann's research (Adams et al., this volume) has summarized some of these aspects as a quest among young people in the Arctic for more hedonistic opportunities rather than eudaemonic wellbeing. We suggest that such parameters of wellbeing be included more in future analysis of what makes young people in the Arctic feel good. Of course, this goes hand in hand with other crucial parameters of wellbeing, which figure as prominently in our research results as in those of international quality of life metrics, such as housing, employment and education, as shown in Table 0. What unites these factors is that they provide a more down-to-earth operationalization of what a good life may mean in everyday life.

Table 0.1 Parameters of wellbeing operationalized for field research with Arctic youth in Eurasia, compared to the parameters of the OECD Better Life Index

Parameters of wellbeing used for guiding fieldwork with youth in the Arctic (2018–2020)	Parameters of wellbeing in the OECD Better Life Index
1. nature, climate and environment; 2. transport and mobility, distance to big centres and convenience of small cities; 3. quality of life due to housing, medicine and a healthy environment; 4. economic perspectives: labour market, career opportunities; 5. social fabric of the community, networks and openness of civil society for youth; 6. locally appropriate education plus opportunities for education in metropolitan centres; 7. availability and diversity of services and opportunities for finding one's own niche as part of society; 8. degree to which legislation corresponds to actual needs and desires expressed by youth; 9. quality and diversity of spending free time (e.g. culture, education, nature, sports); 10. safety/security in the city for young people, including young families; 11. pride in "northernness" or similar local loyalties.	1. housing; 2. income; 3. jobs; 4. community; 5. education; 6. environment; 7. civic engagement; 8. health; 9. life satisfaction; 10. safety; 11. work-life balance.

We believe in the usefulness of this type of more down-to-earth approach, as some very relevant literature on wellbeing remains on abstract levels of political philosophy or complex social theory. What do we really gain from such equivalencies as 'positive' equals 'good' or 'just'(Hoogensen Gjørv 2012, p. 845), defining "wellbeing as simply living well" (Oades et al. 2017, p. 99), or understanding wellbeing as a complex interplay between proportionalities and limits (Jiménez 2008)?

The findings in the chapters of this volume gain more relevance against the backdrop of notions of wellbeing that have arisen out of different applied wellbeing indicators. Among numerous such efforts, we found the OECD's better life index to be particularly interesting. This initiative combines measurable variables and perceptions in an online tool by inviting people to rate the parameters of wellbeing according to their own importance. We fully subscribe to the starting point and first sentence on the OECD homepage (OECD Better Life Index n.d.): "There is more to life than the cold numbers of GDP and economic statistics." Many of the variables for wellbeing that

website visitors are invited to assess mirror our own research results, presented in this volume. The OECD tool combines the votes of the participants into country averages of wellbeing on a 1–10 scale, with all the Arctic countries (except Russia) appearing above the OECD average. Rather than confirming or challenging such quantitative results, in this volume we focus on qualitative thick descriptions of how the parameters of wellbeing unfold among our research partners in various places in the Arctic. The parameters that informed a significant amount of the fieldwork conducted for the chapters in this volume at first glance look very similar to those used by the OECD, as Table 0.1 indicates.

The similarity of the two lists indicates that as humans grow up to become adults, there are some universal parameters that will influence their quality of life, regardless of the region, country, political system and culture in which they grow up. While the two lists show that it is not so much the parameters of wellbeing that are specific to the Arctic, we argue that some of them acquire a different meaning in the region, particularly due to the influence of two principal factors: climate/environment and transportation/mobility.

Why the Arctic?

We would like to stress climate and the environment of Arctic settlements as two overarching factors that influence all other parameters of human wellbeing in the region. Thus, they cannot be left outside of considerations on the attractiveness of the North as a place for young people to pursue their plans and dreams in life. Different from more temperate regions, everybody in the Arctic agrees on the strong influence of the environment and climate on quality of life.

In more temperate climates, the difference between the seasons allows for a life independent of the environment. In the Arctic, most people's day starts with taking a look at the temperature, precipitation and daylight, which are more diverse throughout the year than anywhere else on the planet. Long periods of snow and darkness in the winter and 24/7 daylight in the summer can be a source of depression or inspiration, but either way they are influential and impossible to ignore, compared to the case of a temperate metropolitan area. This gives the parameter of the environment a specific meaning in the Arctic.

Moreover, the fact that the Arctic is remote from the various countries' capital and metropolitan areas is a parameter that is constantly mentioned, even more so by young people. Connected to this is the parameter of transportation, the ability to explore the surrounding nature and connect with friends using different vehicles in the Arctic, or experiencing the distance to big centres as detrimental to the sense of quality of life. Arctic settlements are small and far away from the hustle and bustle of busy life. Some consider this an asset, enabling calm and peace of mind, while for others it is experienced as a deficit of opportunities.

These two overarching factors decisively influence the rest of the parameters on the list. For example, in smaller Arctic settlements many mention the

density of social networks and the support of family, friends and neighbours as different from the anonymity of life in a big city. That can also be considered a function of spatial distance to populous centres, as well as a harsh environment where support by neighbours used to be a matter of survival, with services being less institutionalized than in large cities. Likewise, the factors mentioned above figure prominently as parameters of local identity, which may support young people's decisions to either pursue their life in the North, return back after education in southern areas (Adams et al., this volume), or serve as a sense of belonging even among those who have left (Toivanen, this volume).

Given the focus mentioned above in wellbeing studies on Indigenous peoples, psychology and mental health in North America (Kral et al. 2011; Rasmus et al. 2014; Ulturgasheva et al. 2014), with our regional focus on the Eurasian Arctic in this volume we complement the existing literature, without leaving out North America (see Gartler et al., this volume). Additionally, we specifically do not categorize our research participants according to ethnic principles.

Why youth?

Youth obviously has a long history as a defining category for social science research, at both the individual level (psychology) and the collective level (sociology and anthropology). The classical study by Mead (1928) and its later reception have been formative for our understanding of the cultural specifics of youth as an age-class, as well as the importance of context in region and culture. This work and its reception have also influenced for a long time the way in which anthropologists have related to youth, mainly as the age category before initiation into adulthood, along with sexual practices and youngster male/female relationships (Bucholtz 2002). Obviously, youth as an age group is more than adolescence.

It does not come as a surprise that the more that studies become detailed and in-depth, the more we can uncover the diversity within this age group. Teenagers have different priorities for their wellbeing than young adults, school pupils, young professionals and just-married couples, to name just a few different phases of youth. The cultural practices of these differ not only from adults but also within youth. Bucholtz (2002, p. 525) observes that, more recently, research on youth has become wider and produces more studies on youth cultural practices. We find this orientation particularly important, because understanding these cultural practices tells a great deal about the future of Arctic societies and settlements. In this volume, we seek to integrate fields of Arctic social sciences that often separate between Indigenous, incomer, nomadic, settled, rural and urban communities. Focusing on youth allows us to bridge this divide.

Wright and McLeod (2015, p. 4) have highlighted that youth is a volatile category of the human population. Understanding variation and influences on this volatility is even more important, as it is the young generation that shapes the future and viability of human presence in the Arctic at a time

when the region is going through substantial changes, such as global warming and extractive industrial development. From the perspective of both the public and natural science, this has made the Arctic into a natural laboratory where many planetary developments can be observed at a faster pace and are more clearly expressed than in more temperate regions. With this volume, we argue that if the future of the Arctic is of interest for the whole world, we must understand the motivations, agency and cultural practices of the generation of inhabitants that will shape the future of that region from within.

Mobility, agency and regulating paths to independence: a road map for the volume

We will now outline the main findings of the chapters in this volume and highlight several overarching topics that run through them. The volume has benefitted from all the writers being involved in reading, commenting and cross-referencing each other's contributions. During this process we observed that mobility and emplacement, youth agency, regulative practices of youth life and paths to independence figure particularly prominently in many chapters. Correspondingly, this volume is divided into sections with these headings.

Mobility and emplacement concern both physical and social mobility, within the Arctic and between the Arctic and more southern regions. Many Arctic settlements, particularly in Russia but also in Finland, are losing their populations. This is the background situation on which the chapters by Simakova et al., Bolotova, Komu and Adams, and to some extent also Oglezneva et al. and Toivanen, develop their discussions. Though having different theoretical interests and disciplinary orientations, all of them find that for young people in Finland's and Russia's Arctic, the default situation is one where a young person moves away from the North after leaving the parents' household. In Chapter 1, Simakova, Pitukhina and Ivanova highlight the importance of understanding youth's idea of wellbeing in relation to their migration intentions out of Arctic single-industry towns in Russia. They distinguish between the economic, social and emotional building blocks of wellbeing, based on a sociological survey that they conducted. With this trifold division, they combine what Wright and McLeod (2015, p. 2) have observed as being separate, namely, that many wellbeing metrics rely on numerical values, while wellbeing policies are based on psychological and emotional variables. Simakova et al. conclude that "migration sentiments" influence young people's decisions to leave or stay in Arctic single-industry towns.

On the Finnish side, in Chapter 2 Komu and Adams rightly remind that youth outmigration is part of a trend towards urbanization which is not only characteristic for the Arctic but for rural areas in general. They highlight, in particular, that moving out is the default situation for young people, while staying behind is less prestigious and feels like "being stuck". Therefore, based on their case study of the small post-industrial town of Kolari in Finnish Lapland, they develop their main idea of a "culture of migration", where mobility in everyday life and the freedom to move out are important

for young people's notion of wellbeing. In Chapter 3, Bolotova speaks to exactly the same ideas, but based on long-term fieldwork in single-industry towns in Russian Lapland. She observes that there is much less research on "stayers" than on "away-movers". Her work with stayers shows that there is more to remaining in Arctic towns than what she calls "involuntary immobility" and that staying is not a one-time act but a process with diverse facets and nuances. In her ethnography of staying, Bolotova therefore highlights the agency not only of migrants but also those young people who choose to stay in the Arctic, thus contributing to a more positive notion of a good life.

(Im)mobility and agency are also the two key terms around which Toivanen builds her argument in Chapter 4. Rather than focusing on stayers, however, she identifies a strong sense of belonging in the North among those Indigenous youth that moved out of the Arctic to more southerly areas, such as the Finnish capital of Helsinki. This shows, in particular, young people's agency to stay connected to culturally significant places and livelihoods even in cases when they are physically distant from them as a result of outmigration.

In Chapter 5, Joona and Keskitalo focus on those young people who practice a specific livelihood that continues to exist in the Finnish and Swedish Arctic: reindeer herding. Their findings allow the question of rural outmigration and involuntary immobility to appear in a different light than the previous chapters, portraying on the one hand a bleak picture of villages and towns emptying out, a lack of employment options, the low qualification of the stayers, marginalization, dissatisfaction, violence and abuse. On the other hand, they emphasize their young interlocutors' strong connection to the Arctic environment through reindeer herding and their agency and decisiveness to continue their livelihood. The authors can also be especially lauded for highlighting the gender dimensions of such choices: boys are more likely to take on reindeer herding as their primary profession. Joona and Keskitalo end with the hopeful finding that girls are increasingly considering reindeer herding, at least as a part-time profession.

Many reindeer herders consider themselves Indigenous, and Indigenous youth is also the topic of Chapter 6, in which Gartler, together with Melacon and Peter, focus on the Yukon in Canada. While reindeer herding as a livelihood is not an option there, what is called "living off the land" clearly emerges as a source of wellbeing for Indigenous youth, even though the region is nowadays dominated not only by extractive industries but also extractivism as an approach to life. Gartler shows that income from mining enhances the possibilities of Indigenous youth to spend time on the land by enabling the purchase of expensive equipment, which is needed nowadays to access remote places in the Arctic. This is particularly important, as being on the land for these young people also means maintaining relations with like-minded human and non-human persons in the environment. Thus, Gartler argues, the impacts of extractive industries for Indigenous youth cannot be seen as solely negative or positive.

As Wyn et al. (2015) have argued, the parameters of wellbeing as imperative by society are not made by youth themselves. This is best exemplified

in regulative settings and youth policy, in which young people's participation is minor. Such rules and laws often have direct effects on the key condition of youth wellbeing, as identified by many authors (Jiménez 2008; Oades et al. 2021).

In Chapter 7, on Russian youth law and politics in the Arctic, Oglezneva, Ivanova and Stammler give examples of youth agency in the determination of their wellbeing in the Arctic (for example, through youth parliaments, youth policy programmes and civil society initiatives). Their findings show the diversity of approaches and situations in the largest Arctic country, which is also due to the absence of a Russian federal law on youth and on the Arctic. Using research evidence from fieldwork in three northern industry towns, the authors reveal how certain regions and municipalities have a significant ability to implement their own policy in order to make themselves attractive to youth, even though for outside observers Russia may seem as a centrally administered country where decisions are mainly made in Moscow. They show that this local and regional power is also strongly facilitated by the youth social policies of big industrial companies that are key economic actors in Russian Arctic cities. This argument reminds us that governance has long moved beyond the state being the only actor, and youth policy in the Arctic is in line with the recent trend towards multi-actor, multi-level governance, for which the Arctic Council has become famous (Hoogensen Gjørv 2012, p. 865).

After all, youth policy should enable young people's paths to independence and the shaping of their own future, as well as that of the region. Those young people who have lived in institutional care have special challenges in seeking independent adulthood. Chapter 8 by Lähde and Mölkänen explores narratives of the independence of young adults who have been clients of youth welfare services in Finland. They discuss three predominant common themes (insecurities in social relations, illness or struggles with psychosocial wellbeing, and moving) that manifested in young adults' narratives, and consider how these contribute to the needs and possible spaces for support based on young adults' experiences. With a similar research orientation but set in Russian northern alternative care, in Chapter 9 Kulmala and Fomina explore the expectations of young people who transition from different forms of alternative care into their independent adult life. Their empirical analysis is structured by two modes of future orientation by the young adults in the study: those who plan and dream ahead and those who show little future orientation or a refusal to plan.

In Chapter 10, the final chapter of this volume, Adams, Allemann and Tynkkynen make a Finnish–Russian northern comparison: their two case towns, Pyhäjoki and Polyarnye Zory, are united by a crucial corporate agent, the Russian state's nuclear company Rosatom, which runs one plant in Russian Lapland and has partnered with a Finnish company to build another one in Pyhäjoki in northern Finland. The authors highlight the importance of corporate agency for youth wellbeing, particularly in relation to evidence from a single-industry town in Russia, with influence still being much less on the Finnish side.

Conclusion

This introductory chapter has highlighted the potential of in-depth, empirically grounded research with young people in the Arctic to contribute to theoretical and applied notions of wellbeing in the social sciences. We have shown some ways in which literature from such different disciplines as anthropology, psychology, human security studies and educational science can become relevant for an integrated understanding of youth wellbeing, using evidence from the Arctic. Building on the dominant theoretical ideas of *capability* and the *freedom to act* for one's future, this introduction and the chapters of this volume flesh out what the crucial empirical parameters for a good life in the Arctic are for young people—in other words, what Arctic youth are capable of doing to achieve the kind of wellbeing that would make them like their life in connection to their homeland.

We have shown that some of these parameters seem similar to those in the dominant global wellbeing indicators, such as the OECD Better Life Index. However, the crucial factors of the Arctic climate/environment, the specifics of its geography and the connected questions of mobility cause these parameters to play out in ways that make the Arctic different from other places on our planet. Highlighting the agency of youth with examples from the Arctic, this volume shows that it is not enough for youth to wait until their seniors create more favourable conditions.

Arctic youth must be confident in their economic and social potential and take an active position, creating their own future and that of their children. The chapters in this book give a strong positive signal that young people have all the capacity and abilities needed to actively take part in shaping their own lives. There are manifold governmental and economically motivated plans to 'develop' the Arctic, which render the Arctic inhabitants invisible and irrelevant (see Toivanen 2019), but the empirical and ethnographic chapters in this book significantly challenge these century-long narratives of the Arctic as a peripheral resource frontier. Arctic youth do not need to make the same choices as earlier generations, because due to technology the places of work and education and the places of family can be connected. Thus, the Arctic has a lot to offer to young people searching for a good life, if they wish to locate themselves in the region.

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